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ABSTRACT

Noting that recent emphasis in the New World Information Order debate has focused on the development of new structures for the production and exchange of news among Third World countries, this paper provides a qualitative and quantitative examination of three types of alternative news agencies. They include the second-tier Western agencies (DPA--Deutsche Presse Agentur--from West Germany, Kyodo from Japan); Third World national agencies (Tanjug--Telegrafska Agencija Nova Jugoslavija--from Yugoslavia, Xinhua from China, News Agency of Nigeria, Shihata from Tanzania); and global services (the Non-Aligned News Agencies pool, Inter Press Service). The paper concludes by noting that quantitatively these are similar to the big four Western agencies that provide most of the world's news, but qualitatively are very different. Appended are six data tables giving the results of a quantitative analysis of the various alternative services for the last two weeks of October, 1982. (Author/HOD)

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New News for the New World Information Order

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ABSTRACT

New News for the New World Information Order

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Emphasis in the New World Information Order debate in recent years has focused of the development of new structures for the production and exchange of news among Third World countries. This has included support for national news agencies, regional exchanges and agencies dedicated to specialized or alternative information. Enough of them are functioning that an assessment can be made.

This paper is based on a qualitative and quantitative examination of three types of alternative news agencies: the second-tier Western agencies (DPA from Germany, Kyodo from Japan); Third World national agencies (TANJUG, from Yugoslavia; Xinhua, from China; News Agency of Nigeria; Shihata from Tanzania) and global services (the Non-Aligned News Agencies pool; Inter Press Service).

The paper finds that quantitatively these are similar to the Big Four Western agencies that provide most of the world's news but qualitatively are very different. Prospects for the various agencies are assessed.

Introduction

Most of the debate over the dominance of Western news media and news agencies to date has focused on those institutions themselves. We have read the complaints about their coverage of and service to the Third World from leaders of the New World Information Order debate (Masmoudi 1979; Tunstall 1977; Nordenstreng and Schiller 1979), and we have begun to see studies that address the questions raised in the NWIO debate (Sreberny-Mohammadi 1984; Weaver and Wilhoit 1981; Stevenson and Shaw 1984; Schramm and Atwood 1981). Western media and Western news agencies, however, are only part of the broad picture of world news flow.

With such ambitious projects as the foreign images study coordinated by IAMCR at the request of Unesco (Sreberny-Mohammadi 1984; Stevenson and Shaw 1984), we can see a fuller picture of the world's news. That study, however, looked only at national media and, to a lesser extent, the major Western news agencies. It did not deal with other, less known but even more important elements of the world news structure. In this paper, we will report results of a study of those elements that, for the most part, have not been examined. They are the secondary Western news agencies, the alternative services formed to meet Third World needs and national agencies. We will look, qualitatively and quantitatively, at representatives of all three types.

The Global News System

If we could see the flow of news around the world from some comfortable perch in space, it might resemble a giant scaffold, skeleton or nerve system, all of which are metaphors that have been used to describe it. And certainly in the scaffold or skeleton or nerve system, the Big Four news agencies

(Reuters, Agence France-Presse, Associated Press and United Press International) and Big Two newsfilm services (Visnews and UPITN) would be the strongest and most visible. They hold together the global news network. However, a careful examination of the network would disclose details that have been overlooked in the global news debate (Boyd Barrett 1980; Richstad and Anderson 1981; Giffard 1984; International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems 1980; ICSCP monographs 13, 14, 15). They are of three types.

The first type is the second tier of Western agencies, which supplement the work of the Big Four, sometimes complementing them and occasionally competing directly. These agencies include some organizations of world scope, such as DPA (Deutsche Presse Agentur) in Germany, Kyodo from Japan, ANSA (Agenzia Nazaionale Stampa Associata) in Italy and EFE (the name is the letter "f" in Spanish; its origin and significance are obscure) in Spain. All operate globally if not at the scale of the Big Four, and several of them — particularly the four just mentioned — are significant sources of news in a number of countries.

The secondary agencies also operate to some degree in the same way as the Big Four. All issue news in several languages and cooperate with Third World services. DPA, for example, provides a full service to the Middle East News Agency (MENA) in Egypt, which in turn distributes an Arabic-language version to ten Arab countries in Africa and the Middle East.

The second type of alternative service is a small but growing number of regional and specialized services that were established to fill in the gaps in coverage of the Big Four. They cover a surprising range of geography and purpose. The Caribbean News Agency (CANA), for example, operates as

independently of government as the Big Four and was formed, in fact, with the active cooperation of Reuters, which wanted to drop its regional Caribbean service (Cuthbert 1981). Reuters was also instrumental in the development of LATIN, a regional exchange founded by leading Latin American newspapers in 1970.

Virtually every geographic area in the Third World has at least one regional exchange, although the Pan African News Agency, which began operations in May, 1983, after a decade of planning, has yet to demonstrate that it is viable (Ansah 1984). In the Middle East, the Gulf News Agency (GNA) distributes news from six member agencies (Harris N.D.); the new Asia News Network does the same for 23 agencies in 19 Asia countries (English 1982).

These regional exchanges also tie into specialized global agencies, such as the Non-Aligned News Agencies pool and Inter Press Service. The NANA pool and IPS are the most visible of the alternative services in the new world information order debate, but other specialized services exist as well. Probably the oldest is DEPTHnews in the Philippines (Ali in Horton 1978). The title stands for Development, Economics Population Themes; the agency has functioned as a specialized regional service since 1969. Many of the development-oriented services are based in the West. Gemini and Earthscan operate from London; Africa News is located in central North Carolina.

Finally, there are the national news agencies, more than 100 in number, which range from organizations with the same news values as the Western media to those which are actively part of the governments they represent. The latter are more common than the former, but it is important to recognize the diversity that exists within the group.

The metaphor of the human body's circulatory system is appropriate for a

description of the world news system because it implies a multi-layered structure all linked together with a continuous flow throughout the system. In the global news system, the Western agencies, of course, are the main arteries and the heart as well. They drive the system and account for most of the volume. But the smaller vessels — represented by the specialized, regional and national agencies — are also vital.

And they are firmly tied into the main part of the system. Both the big agencies and small services use the time-honored practice of monitoring each other and borrowing news when appropriate (Riffe 1984). More to the point, exchange agreements, cooperative arrangements and outright sales contracts tie the world news system together to a surprising and impressive degree.

At the time it submitted it monograph to the MacBride Commission, AFP had exchange agreements with 54 agencies; it sold its service directly to 15 agencies; in Paris, it handled directly the services of an additional 20 agencies. UPI at the same time had agreements with 39 agencies. Neither the AP nor Reuters monograph cited specific arrangements, but the number of countries in which their files are distributed — 150 for Reuters, 108 for AP -- is an indication because in most of these countries, the distribution is carried out through some kind of exchange, cooperative agreement or sales to a national agency.

The second-tier and alternative agencies have even stronger ties with Third World national agencies, in many cases because they were established precisely to fill in the gaps left by the Big Four. Their motives are a combination of business and altruism. DPA, for example, has developed special links with several Arab news agencies and has worked with other German development programs to provide equipment and training. The agency distributes

news in 78 countries and maintains correspondents or stringers in 80. Its service is comprehensive and fast.

Tanjug, the national agency of Yugoslavia and heart of the Non-Aligned News Agencies pool, maintains 46 fulltime foreign correspondents and distributes news in 103 countries (ICSCP Document 15; Ivacic 1978) . Its daily files total 75,000 to 120,000 words. The Middle East News Agency (MENA) in Egypt also operates as a significant regional service and almost a global agency, although the peace between Egypt and Israel damaged its operations and influence in several Arab countries. The Camp David agreement also nearly brought about its expulsion from the pool. MENA maintains 35 fulltime foreign correspondents and transmits a daily file of nearly 200,000 words in eight languages to customers in 25 countries.

The alternative services are newer, more controversial and less successful (Ivacic 1977, 1978). The NANA pool and IPS are prototypes of the two different approaches to alternative news structures. The pool (Horton 1978), founded in 1975 as an offspring of the Non-Aligned Movement, distributes contributions from member national news agencies with minimum editing to keep some equity in the rate of contribution and some balance when members use the medium to carry on verbal battles. Iran and Iraq are the main example of the latter; pool officials claim they try to keep the complaints from IRNA (Iran) and INA (Iraqi News Agency) even on the assumption — which Western editors could sympathize with — that equal complaints from both sides must mean even-handed coverage.

Inter Press Service (Giffard 1983, 1984) transmits material from the pool and a whole range of specialized agencies as well, but it is essentially independent of government-run national agencies that make up the pool. IPS stories have a distinctly Western style to them; they are often critical of

Third World governments and occasionally even report the unusual or bizarre events that Third World critics contend dominate Big Four coverage of the Third World.

The pool, transmitted worldwide through a network of national agencies with Yugoslavia at the core and India and Cuba as regional centers, and IPS, which maintains its own extensive communication network, have the structure to get their information distributed on a reliable, regular and timely basis. Many of the other regional exchange cooperatives do not have access to reliable communication or cannot afford to maintain the kind of communication links they would need to keep an impressive range of exchange agreements active. As a result, many of the extensive regional and binational exchange agreements exist mostly on paper.

Global News Flow

The director of ANSA, the second-tier Italian agency, has commented that his agency receives daily "on merely average equipment working only fifteen hours a day 220,000 words from the socialist countries, 110,000 from the Third World and 250,000 from the international agencies.... Even Hsinhua (China) sends me 35,000 words a day."

ANSA also gets news from its 14 bureaus in Italy staffed by 350 correspondents and from 69 foreign bureaus staffed by 47 fulltime reporters and 300 stringers. ANSA puts out 300,000 words a day in five languages to foreign and domestic clients, much of which is repetitious (ICSCP Document 13). The largest foreign file is the Spanish bulletin which contains 48,000 words a day. It is sent to Latin America for distribution to Spanish-speaking customers and to Sao Paulo where it is translated into Portuguese for distribution in Brazil.

ANSA also transmits 9,000 words a day in Italian to Europe and North America, a 4,500-word abridgment of the file in English to North America, 12,000 words in French to Europe, Africa and the Middle East, 9,000 words in English to Europe, Africa, the Middle East and Asia, a 7,000-word bulletin in Italian to ships at sea and a printed weekly review in three languages by mail. Depending on the bulletin, ANSA news is distributed by terrestrial and satellite dedicated circuits and by radio-teletype.

The main ANSA domestic service, which goes over three channels to all Italian daily papers, radio and television, many weeklies, parliament and various government offices, is a mix of domestic, world and sports news that totals 90,000 words a day. Other specialized services cover culture, fashion and science; a special bulletin on working days carries a 20,000-word selection from the main service.

Consider the numbers involved in this medium-sized news operation. Close to 600,000 words a day come to ANSA from other agencies alone. The main domestic file contains about one-third foreign news, or about 30,000 words a day. Even if ANSA's nearly 50 fulltime foreign correspondents were excluded, only about one word in 20 that flows into ANSA would make it to the domestic service. And, of course, the foreign correspondents, who are maintained at a cost often in excess of $200,000 a year, contribute a large part of the foreign news component; if they did not, ANSA could not justify their expense. It is not surprising that the director of ANSA said candidly that "It stands to reason that most of what we receive [from the foreign agencies] goes into the rubbish bin."

ANSA is part of the information-rich West, a major producer of news itself and able, through contract and exchange agreement, to get access to whatever

part of the world's media menu it wants. Many Third World agencies do not suffer the luxury of such abundance, but the ratios of information available and information selected may be similar.

A 1977 study (Harris 1977) found that the Ghana News Agency received 12 different wire services, six of them regularly. Five were from Western countries, five from socialist countries and two from North Africa. In its daily domestic files, the GNA used, despite frequent mechanical breakdown and atmospheric interference, about one word out of ten it received. Foreign news constitutes a relatively small part of the GNA daily news file. As with most Third World national agencies, its major interest is domestic.

The main headquarters of GNA in Accra is connected by teleprinter to eight regional offices where reporters submit stories that become part of the main domestic service comprising 40,000 words a day (ICSCP Document 14). The daily file, a mix of domestic and international news, is transmitted via teleprinter to 23 subscribers, mostly government and national media, and to about ten more in hard copy. Printed daily and weekly summaries go to about 1,000 subscribers.

Second-Tier Western Agencies

Deutsche Presse Agentur. DPA, like so much of the modern Federal Republic of Germany, is a product of the strange post-war occupation period (ICSCP Document 14). It was established in 1949 by newspaper publishers and broadcasters by combining the three news services that had been established independently in the British, French and American zones of occupation. Original cooperative arrangements with Reuters and AFP were allowed to disintegrate, but UPI continues to be DPA's major foreign partner. It is still

owned by German publishers and Land-level (state) broadcasters in the Federal Republic and West Berlin.

DPA's editorial and administrative offices are in Hamburg; its photo service operates from Frankfurt. Like AFP and the two American world agencies, DPA is essentially a domestic service with international reporting and distribution as a secondary activity. A national service of 40,000 words a day is edited in Hamburg for distribution to clients in Germany; eight regional domestic services produce another 75,000 words a day.

Foreign services include a German-language European service, an English overseas service distributed by radio-telephone, an Arab service sent to Cairo and distributed from there by the Middle East News Agency and a Spanish service for Latin America. Features and background information are distributed by mail. DPA distributes photos in Germany and provides pictures for UPI's international telephoto network. According to calculations by the staff of the MacBride Commission, DPA's daily output is 115,000 words. In the United States, the DPA English service is distributed by the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service.

DPA probably has the largest international operation of any of the second-tier Western agencies. According to the MacBride Commission monograph, it has 144 subscribers in 78 countries and maintains 105 fulltime foreign correspondents among its 800-person staff. Correspondents or stringers are stationed in 80 countries.

DPA also operates a film service, making it a junior competitor with the newsfilm companies as well as the news agencies. Film is distributed in 37 countries, mostly in Europe and Latin America.

The German agency claims exchange agreements or working relationships with

some 45 foreign agencies. The two most important are the "full-service" agreements with MENA in Cairo and ORBE in Santiago, which provide for retransmission of regional files. Comparable agreements for cooperation and exchange with TAP (Tunisia) and KUNA (Kuwait) extend DPA's influence in the Arab world. DPA also claims an impressive record in providing technical assistance and training for Third World journalists, usually in cooperation with Deutsche Welle, the overseas broadcasting authority, and the German government.

Kyodo Tsushin News Service. Like DPA, Kyodo is a product of the post-World War II period (ICSCP Document 14). And like DPA, Kyodo is heir to a history that extends almost as far as that of Reuter and AFP. At the end of World War II, Domei, the huge national Japanese agency with 6,000 employees, voluntarily disbanded. Most of its employees moved to two new agencies, Kyodo and Jiji Press. Kyodo became a general news service, while Jiji from its beginning emphasized financial information. Today is almost entirely technical economic information, not unlike the Reuters Economic Service.

Kyodo is a cooperative owned by Japanese newspapers and NHK, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation. It also services Japan's commercial broadcasters and several non-member newspapers. Kyodo operates 53 domestic bureaus and has a fulltime staff of 1,900, including 900 correspondents. Not surprisingly, its technical operation is sophisticated. Files to domestic customers include tapes which can be fed directly into typecasting machines that produce a mixture of kanji (Chinese ideograms) and kana (Japanese phonetic letters). Romanized dispatches from overseas correspondents are automatically converted to the proper mixture of kanji and kana.

Kyodo puts out 220,000 Japanese letters a day and 35,000 words in English.

It maintains 37 foreign bureaus, including six in the United States. It maintains exchanges or working arrangements with 39 other agencies and 30 foreign photo services.

National News Agencies

We have already noted the importance of Third World national news agencies as gatekeepers in determining what information from the global flow gets into their national media and, in some cases, deciding what internal news gets into the international system as well. They are as varied as the Third World itself, however, and defy simple classification. Even the number of national agencies is unclear.

It ought to be simple to count the number of national agencies, but definitions vary. Some agencies still exist mostly on paper, and the emphasis on development of national agencies by Unesco and the IPDC quickly outdates printed summaries. A report to the MacBride Commission based on data from the mid-1970s claimed that about 120 nations had news agencies but that 40 did not, including 24 with populations in excess of one million people. A more recent (Sussman 1982) survey counted 104 Third World agencies, three-quarters of them operating under some form of government control.

News Agency of Nigeria. It is curious that Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa and the nation with the most developed media system, did not have a national agency until so late (The Story of NAN, N.D.). NAN was founded in 1976 as a state enterprise and began operations two years later. Like most news organizations, its charter calls for it to report news and opinion in a professional and objective manner. According to one assessment (Ugboajah 1980), NAN "must not act as an institutional opponent to any government or

interests, but where it is in the public interest to report criticism of public policy, it must do so in a restrained and objective manner."

Where national sovereignty or unity is at issue, NAN has has a further responsibility: "It must come out firmly on the side of Nigeria without prejudice to its adherence to the truth which must at all times be its guiding light and governing principle."

Although its facilities are inadequate by Western standards, reliable communications with the rest of the world are possible, thanks to OPEC money that built an elaborate national telecommunications center. Domestic communications, however, are another matter and a big problem for news gathering and distribution within the sprawling nation of 82 million. Five regional domestic offices are tied to the Lagos headquarters by varied communication links. Radio-teletype and teleprinters are used to distribute news dispatches, but heavy reliance is placed on the personal delivery of mimeographed dispatches. In Lagos, whose legendary traffic jams continue virtually around the clock, even that system can be uncertain.

NAN puts out regular dispatches a day at 11:30 and 3:30 and a late bulletin in the early evening. They contain both world news, mostly re-written from Western agency dispatches, and staff-written domestic news stories. Economic news is carried in a separate economic service distributed at 2 p.m. NAN dispatches total about 40-45 stories a day in its regular service with another ten stories and commodity price reports in the Economic News Service.

Xinhua, New China News Agency. It is hard to imagine a news service more different from NAN than Xinhua. One is mostly independent of government, a neutral if not critical observer of government; the other is highly centralized

and an integral part of the government (Chi 1983; Butterfield 1982).

Xinhua was founded in 1932 as the Red China News Agency during Mao's insurgency days. After joining the Nationalists in a united front against the Japanese in 1937, the Chinese Communist Party renamed its new news agency the New China News Agency, a name that continued during the Communists' renewed struggles after World War II and after their seizure of the country in 1950.

Even with China's new openness, little is known about Xinhua's organization and activities. It maintains correspondents in 85 countries and has extensive exchange agreements with major Western news organizations as well as regional exchanges like the Asian News Network. It has not, however, been active in the Non-Aligned News Agencies pool or tried to exert influence in the New World Information Order debates.

Xinhua transmits about 150,000 words a day in English, French, Spanish, Arabic and Russian to news organizations outside of China, although its stories as such seldom appear in any country with the possible exception of its one-time soul brother Albania. As a source of information about events in China, however, it is important to outside media and other China watchers, especially to foreign correspondents in China who are deliberately prevented from the kind of routine official and unofficial contacts that are the grist of day-to-day reporting.

From its own correspondents and files of other agencies, Xinhua puts together several dispatches for distribution within China. It is not the only source of foreign news in China — the People's Daily has its own small stable of foreign correspondents — but Xinhua is close to a monopoly. It sends daily 40,000 to 50,000 words to national newspapers and broadcasters, another 30,000 to 40,000 words to provincial and municipal papers and 10,000 to 20,000 words

to smaller, local newspapers. Xinhua is also a major contributor to a curious Chinese institution that also exists in the Soviet Union and probably in other closed societies as well.

In China, the largest-circulation periodical is not the People's Daily but a daily bulletin called Reference News. Reference News — marked "Internal Publication — Be Careful to Save" — is a relatively straight-forward summary of events, three-quarters of it from Western agencies, made available to the party elite. It is estimated to have a circulation of nine to ten million copies a day. An even more restricted publication, which does carry a security classification, contains information critical of China and candid assessments of Chinese policies as well.

Tanjug, Telegrafska Agencija Nova Jugoslavija. Tanjug, like the country it serves, defies a simple classification. Yugoslavia is part of central Europe but different enough from its neighbors that the U.S. State Department refers to the desk that deals with it as "Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia." It is a leader of the Non-Aligned Movement but not a developing Third World country. History and geography have made it a crossroads between East and West as well as capitalism and socialism. Most of all, World War II left it as a fragile coalition of very different and historically hostile religions, languages and peoples.

Tanjug itself is also something of an anomaly According to a monograph prepared for the MacBride Commission (ICSCP Document 15):

> Tanjug is neither a state institution nor a private or corporate one. It is a professional news agency serving and belonging to the whole of Yugoslav society, and run in keeping with the principles of workers' self-management. Tanjug's output and editorial policy are

governed by the needs of society, the press, radio and television, the economy, political and social institutions. Tanjug's inventory, premises, and telecommunications are socially owned and entrusted to its working collective for proper use. Tanjug operates as an income-earning organization, thus providing for its development.

By criteria of size and scope of operation, Tanjug is in the same class as the larger second-tier Western agencies. It maintains 46 fulltime foreign correspondents and serves 103 countries. Its total staff of nearly 900 employees includes some 130 domestic correspondents in all of Yugoslavia's six republic and two autonomous provinces. A general domestic service, operating 24 hours a day, transmits 75,000 to 120,000 words daily to Yugoslav newspapers and broadcasters.

Tanjug transmits newscasts abroad in English, French, Spanish, Russian, German and Serbo-Croatian, mostly by shortwave radio-teletype. The English and French casts are general services sent worldwide; the others operate regionally for one to six hours a day. The Serbo-Croation service is intended for Yugoslavs abroad. Tanjug also distributes internationally by mail features in six languages, a special economic service, EKOS, that looks like a junior Reuters Economic Service, and news photos.

Tanjug has exchange or purchase arrangements with about 50 national news agencies and receives the newscasts of another 20 national agencies as well as the major Western services. Many of the agency's ties to national agencies of other non-aligned and developing nations relate to its emergence as the center of the Non-Aligned News Agencies pool in the mid-1970s. Tanjug is responsible for the preparation of the pool dispatch in English, French and Spanish and uses its own facilities to transmit the daily file.

Agency officials claim to rely on the same principles of speed, accuracy and objectivity as the Western agencies. If anything, Tanjug news claims to be distinguished by context, a trait that most Western reporters admit is usually lacking in the bare bones style of Western reporting. The monograph to the MacBride Commission put it this way:

> A fundamental principle for Tanjug journalists is that important events do not just happen, they have a background. Reporting an event includes explaining its current importance and possible impact, its social-political background. This means a full report giving the news a context within the course of current events. Perhaps an explanation for the "exclusives" Tanjug journalists have scored in their foreign news coverage is that freedom from any restraints which could block an open approach to events as they happen. This same lack of restraints is a feature of the Yugoslav domestic press in its treatment of difficulties or negative occurrences in the course of development within Yugoslavia itself.

Shihata, News Agency of Tanzania. Shihata — the name is Swahili for the English title — has little in common with Tanjug except a commitment to the New World Information Order (Anim and Haskovac 1978). It is weak as a domestic service and invisible in the global news flow.

Shihata was founded in 1976, the same year as NAN in West Africa, but Tanzania missed Nigeria's oil bonanza and remains one of the most media-poor countries in a media-poor continent.

When a Unesco consulting team visited Shihata two years after it was organized, the agency had an editorial staff of 99. Its biggest problem was a

lack of equipment and telecommunication facilities. Of 20 regional offices on the African mainland, only one had a road-worthy vehicle. The agency director's plan for development, endorsed by the Unesco team, called for more vehicles, especially Land Rovers and bicycles.

Shihata received foreign news from Reuters, AFP and TASS. It was supposed to be the sole receiver and distributor of foreign news in the country, but Radio Tanzania and the country's two daily papers, the party Uhuru and the government Daily News received foreign transmissions at the same time. In the early 1980s, exchange agreements were signed with North Korea and Cuba. The latter called for the each country to provide facilities in the capital for a correspondent from the other country. Shihata also agreed to distribute Prensa Latina's monthly English-language magazine Prisma.

Shihata's Home Service consists of a daily bulletin issued in the language received, mostly English but with an occasional Swahili story. The bulletin is distributed twice a day in hard copy and via teleprinter. News stories are occasionally telexed to Zambia and Mozambique, but the agency maintains no regular exchanges.

The agency's finances are tied to the fortunes of the country. Upgrading of technical facilities — the top priority — is hampered by a chronic lack of foreign exchange. The IPDC in December, 1982, authorized $40,000 for Shihata, but that amount would not go far toward upgrading an inadequate system that lacks basic transport and equipment.

Government payments to Shihata rose from 40,000 shillings in 1976-77 to 10.6 million in 1978-79, but the figures reflect inflation as much as increased revenues. The government's five-year plan that ended in 1981 called for capital development of 6 million shillings, of which 5 million were allocated

to a head office building.

Alternative Agencies

One practical effect of the international debate on the global system so far has been the establishment and expansion of a handful of national agencies, a smaller number of regional exchange services and two important alternative news services of worldwide scope. These two are important because they represent examples of conscious alternatives to the news-as-exception approach.

Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool. The idea of establishing a world information system controlled by and operated for the non-aligned countries goes back to the origin of the Non-Aligned Movement itself when Yugoslavia's Tito, Egypt's Nasser and India's Nehru first met to envision a world power bloc composed of nations aligned neither to the United States nor the Soviet Union (Ivacic 1977, 1978; Horton 1978; Jadava 1984; Pinch 1977, 1978). However, it was not until the fourth non-aligned summit conference in 1973 in Algeria that a concrete recommendation for action was approved.

Even then, the initiative for the pool came from Tanjug, which began relaying news from ten other non-aligned national news agencies in its own shortwave radio-teletype transmissions in January of 1975. A formal constitution for the pool and guidelines for participants were approved at a meeting of information ministers and news agency directors in New Delhi the following year. The pool constitution calls for the exchange of news "on the basis of mutual respect" and "full respect for equality and democratic principles." Article 5 of the constitution also defines the purpose of the pool as "promoting cooperation and strengthening the unity of member countries...and the decolonisation of information."

The NANA pool operates now as it did when first organized almost a decade ago. The 85 members of the pool are invited to send, by whatever means they have available, up to 500 words a day to Tanjug headquarters in Belgrade. There a selection of items is made by Tanjug editors assigned to the pool. The items are translated into English, Spanish and French as necessary and sent around the world on Tanjug's powerful radio-teletype network. All pool members are encouraged to use the file and to retransmit it in their own dispatches. In practice, a few agencies — Inter Press Service and the agencies of India and Cuba — are the main supplementary carriers.

IPS, Inter Press Service. Inter Press Service — the organization uses no hyphen in its name — shares with the NANA pool a commitment to a new journalism, but little else. Where the pool is an exchange of government news agencies, IPS dispatches are written by journalists independent of government; where the pool emphasizes protocol news and other kinds of "good news," IPS reporters deal regularly and openly with problems of Third World development (Giffard 1983, 1984; ICSCP Document 14).

The organization was founded in 1964 by an energetic Italian, Roberto Savio, who still runs it. It is a non-profit organization registered in Italy with its headquarters there as well. A floor in an inconspicuous villa not far from the basilica of St. Mary Major in Rome is the nerve center for a surprisingly large communication system — the sixth largest in the world, according to IPS -- that, unlike that of the NANA pool, relies heavily on satellite distribution.

In addition to a Spanish-language service that carries 42,000 words a day and a much smaller English-language file of 24,000 words a day, IPS serves as a carrier for a wide range of other services, including the pool, the Latin

American regional exchange ASIN, several specialized Third World-oriented feature agencies and even national agencies. Unlike virtually all the other alternative news agencies, IPS has an extensive global communication structure that permits fast, reliable, regular collection and dissemination of information. IPS claims to have bureaus or correspondents in more than 60 countries and more than 400 newspapers, broadcasting operations and other agencies as clients.

According to an IPS statement prepared for a Unesco conference, IPS emphasizes "coverage of development issues of global concern, including the role of women, environment, science and technology, information and communications, human settlements, natural resources, agriculture, health, population, education, transnational corporations, etc." While, for the most part, IPS uses a Western reporting style and news values, it claims to treat news "as a social right, not merely a commercial commodity."

A Day's News

We now turn to a central question about the alternative news sources: how different are they? A quantitative analysis will focus on a two-week period in late October, 1982, but before we reduce the voluminous output of these varied alternatives to the Western agencies to the simple numbers that make comparisons possible, a more descriptive look is in order.

For this exercise, we will try to capture a snapshot by looking at the news of October 28, 1982 -- chosen precisely because no single event dominated the news. Data for this and the longer quantitative analysis came from several sources. NAN, Shihata, Tanjug and the Non-Aligned News Agencies pool provided copies of their files; IPS English and Spanish came from Dr. Giffard at the

University of Washington; Kyodo and Xinhua copy was provided by Nexis information service; DPA files were provided by the Los Angles Times-Washington Post News Service, which distributes the service in the United States.

Second-tier agencies. DPA, the West German agency, transmitted 44 stories in its English-language international service on October 28. It provided a large and surprisingly varied menu of news from most parts of the world, although Western Europe was dominant. Twenty of the 44 stories were datelined in Western Europe, but these included several routine currency and stock quotations as well as three separate stories on the Spanish election. Only one story came from North America — a detailed summary of Defense Secretary Weinberger's press conference, and none was reported from Latin America. Middle East datelines, most from Beirut and Jerusalem, accounted for 11 stories. Four stories were reported from Africa, all from Nairobi, and four came from Asia. Three stories were reported from Eastern Europe, and one came from the United Nations, reporting the deaths of three Irish soldiers assigned to the UN force in Lebanon.

Datelines can be misleading as several stories from Western Europe had some direct tie to the Third World. Consider these lead paragraphs:

GENEVA -- For the first Time Thursday the United Nations' universality principle was broken when a resolution giving the Third World Group of 77 rpt 77 special status in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was passed.

FRANKFURT -- Family planning in the Third World can only be successful if it is initiated by local authorities, delegates of a conference organised by the German Society for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) said here Thursday.

MUNICH -- Tibetan Buddhist leader Dalai Lama, 47 rpt 47, arrived in the

Bavarian capital Thursday to take part in an extensive programme.

AACHEN, Germany — The West German Roman Catholic Church's Missio Charity wing announced Thursday a campaign to help rebuild church facilities which have been destroyed in fighting in southern Lebanon.

BONN -- West Germany's major parties called Thursday for quick and decisive action against worldwide hunger, the exploitation of resources and pollution and invited parliaments and governments around the globe to step up development aid cooperation.

Most of these could be categorized as "development news," although not all are focused exclusively on the Third World. Development news can also apply to the West, as a story on Germany's new "eco-farms" — about 20,000 hectares devoted to chemical-free agricultural production — demonstrates. DPA also focused on the Third World in a lengthy story about discussions between Vietnam and Indonsia on problems in Cambodia, most of it based on a news conference by the foreign ministers of the two countries, and a long feature from Nairobi on deteriorating relations between Kenya and neighboring Tanzania that began:

NAIROBI — The already cool relations between the east African neighbours Kenya and Tanzania look like (they are) reaching zero point.

Ever since the Tanzanian government of President Julius Nyerere granted political asylum on October 17th rpt 17th to the two leaders of the failed coup last August against Kenya President Daniel Arap Moi, there has been a breakdown between Nairobi and Dar es Salaam

Other stories from Africa included a report that the Kenyan government would prosecute 75 university students in connection with the failed coup in August and, on the bright side, a decision to try again to hold a summit meeting of the Organization of

African Unity in Libya.

Protocol news — the mostly ceremonial comings and goings of public officials — got heavy attention in DPA's file. Subscribers could read about Libya's Qadaffi arrival in China, Britain's Thatcher arriving in Bonn, Germany's President Carstens meeting Pope John Paul II in the Vatican, the Danish foreign minister in Beirut to discuss European Community aid to Lebanon, American envoy Morris Draper's talks in Beirut, the likely visit of the Israeli foreign minister to Zaire and the visit by the Vietnamese foreign minister to Indonesia noted earlier.

DPA's English service is crisply written and focuses on the kinds of major international events that comprise most of the foreign coverage of Western media. While emphasizing Western Europe and Germany more than some of its customers might like — especially if they were dependent on DPA for their window to the world — DPA resembles the major Western agencies in coverage and style. Not so with Kyodo, the agency from Japan.

Kyodo, which is characterized as a general news service in contrast with Jiji, a finance and economics service, is in fact mostly oriented toward economics and business as well. And it carries very little news that does not originate in or concern Japan. Of the 30 stories it carried on October 28, 1982, only seven were not datelined in Japanese cities. Five of the seven were datelined in the United States, and only one — a story from Moscow about President Brezhnev wanting better relations with China — did not deal with business.

The other six foreign stories were: (New York) International banks to set up information exchange center; (Brussels) Belgium to raise tariff on Japanese digital audio players; (New York) U.S. economic forecaster predicts worsening U.S.-Japan trade friction; (Washington) Sen. Robert Dole criticizes trade protectionism plans; (Washington) U.S.-Japan trade deficit narrows; and (Washington) U.S. government officials

and businessmen to discuss yen performance in White House meeting.

Eleven of the domestic stories also dealt with some aspects of business or finance, and five dealt specifically with relations with the United States, including tobacco import talks, cooperation on crime prevention, military cooperation, Japanese naval exercises in Hawaii and a denial of U.S. allegations of yen manipulation.

Even political news, the single largest topic category of almost all studies of news around the world, got relatively little attention. The minister of international trade and industry criticized his rivals for president of the Liberal-Democratic party; a government report criticized big companies for slowing down their recruitment of handicapped workers; the Foreign Ministry wanted to postpone reconsideration of a nuclear ban resolution at the United Nations until Prime Minister Suzuki's successor was named; a research institute said too much spinach could be harmful; 50 southeast Asians who studied at Japanese universities returned to renew old friendships; and doctors in Kobe removed an egg-sized tumor from a seven-year-old boy's lung.

Kyodo's news is well written — if anything with a more fluent English than DPA's — but its scope seems curiously narrow. Presumably the English service is largely directed to the United States and Western Europe, but it seems to ignore the kind of hard news that makes up the bread and butter coverage of the Western agencies and a large part of DPA as well. Even its coverage of Japan focuses heavily on business and economics to the near-exclusion of other types of news. We had available the files of Jiji for the same period but decided to exclude them from the analysis because they were entirely business and economics, mostly reports of currency exchange figures, commodity and stock prices and the like.

The National Agencies. The four national agencies we have included in our sample vary greatly in size, sophistication and approach to news. Tanjug, from Yugoslavia, could be classed as a second-tier agency like DPA or Kyodo because it operates an

extensive stable of foreign correspondents and distributes its dispatches widely by itself and as part of the Non-Aligned News Agencies' pool. Xinhua, too, is a major organization in size and scope, although it has made little effort as yet to become a major player in the global news flow system. NAN, from Nigeria, and Shihata, from Tanzania, are more modest, although NAN does maintain several foreign correspondents and is a regional distribution center for the new Pan-African News Agency.

Tanjug, the largest of the four agencies, transmitted 58 stories in its English-language service on October 28. As one of the more catholic national services, Tanjug included 24 stories with datelines outside of Yugoslavia. Several of the Yugoslavia-datelined stories really dealt with events outside of the country as well, such as a story based on a report in a Yugoslav newspaper about the results of a meeting between leaders of Zimbabwe and Nigeria and a long dispatch about the Spanish elections credited to the Tanjug correspondent in Madrid but carried with a Belgrade dateline.

Domestic items were heavy on politics and protocol but with some attention to economics and an occasional feature. Among the latter were a story on the 80th birthday of a Zagreb man who had fought in three revolutions (Hungary in 1919, Spain and post-war Yugoslavia) and preliminary applications for the 1984 Winter Olympics in Sarajevo, including Costa Rica and Bolivia that will participate for the first time.

Tanjug's style is frequently mushy, partly the result of less sophistication with English than, say, Kyodo, but also because of an emphasis on official statements. Consider these leads:

> Belgrade, October 27 (Tanjug) -- Relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and Romania and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and the Romanian Communist Party are developing successfully in all fields with full mutual respect and trust, constituting an example of cooperation between two neighbouring socialist countries.

Belgrade, October 27 (Tanjug) -- The conclusions of the 3d session of the LCY Central Committee and measures taken by the federal executive council have met with full approval in all organizations of the League of Communists, units and institutions of the Yugoslav People's Army, it was concluded here today (Wednesday) at a regular session of the committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army.

Xinhua, New China News Agency. Xinhua's English-language service, like the others we have looked at so far, is a "foreign" service, written in a foreign language and aimed foreign audiences. And like the other national services, it is essentially a window on China, with more than half of the stories — 33 out of 60 stories in the October 28 file — from China. Even several of the foreign datelines reported events with a strong Chinese component: Chinese women's delegation concludes visit to Zimbabwe; Chinese province and Minnesota sign agreement of friendship; China and North Korea sign protocols on scientific cooperation and long-term trade agreement; China and Yugoslavia ratify consular agreement.

Purely foreign news items are a mixture of protocol news, a few event-oriented stories whose news value is not immediately clear and a few regular reports that seem to fulfill the Leninist definition of news as the unfolding of history, particularly when it shows trouble in capitalist countries.

Among the first group were a story about normalization of relations between South Yemen and Oman, a summary of the Romanian-Yugoslav joint statement and an agreement between Uganda and Rwanda to solve their refugee problems. Other stories are more difficult to characterize: the opening of the 20th Santiago International Fair, the Italian government's confidence vote, Draper's new mission to the Middle East and plans for a new hotel and convention complex in Zimbabwe.

The most predictable stories are those that stress economic and social problems in

the West. Even though the rhetoric is subdued compared to what the Chinese media used a decade or two ago, the meaning is still clear. Here are a few examples:

LONDON, October 27 -- Violence is escalating in Northern Ireland, and it has claimed six lives in a week since the controversial elections for a new assembly in the British-ruled province.

BEIJING, October 28 -- Hundreds of Israeli El Al state airline employees seized planes and trucks and blocked the runways forcing Ben-Gurion International Airport to show down yesterday, according to reports reaching here.

PARIS, October 27 -- Public transport workers in Paris went on strike today which almost paralysed the city's public transport.

The view of China that Xinhua offers to the world is varied, usually interesting and occasionally reminiscent of earlier propaganda efforts. Sports are always newsworthy -- the October 28 file included eight stories about Chinese teams participating in international competition -- as are examples of protocol news. In our one-day snapshot, Colonel Qaddafi paid his respects to the remains of Chairman Mao, and in a separate story, Qaddafi and his entourage were greeted by Deng Xiaoping and feted at a banquet in the Great Hall of the People.

Development news, defined to include political as well as economic development gets regular attention, sometimes in stories that smack of earlier days:

BEIJING, October 28 -- Zhang Hua, a 24-year-old medical student who died in an attempt to save an old peasant, is a new model for China's young people.

BEIJING, October 28 -- Chen Yun, political bureau standing committee member, called for doing a good job in distribution of the cabbage now being harvested around Beijing and Tianjin in order to guarantee a good winter's

supply for residents of these two cities, according to Beijing Daily reports today.

NANJING -- October 28 -- The Nantong fermentation factory, China's largest citric acid producer, located in Jiangsu Province, reports completion of the first stage of its expansion project, doubling its annual output of the product to 4,000 tons.

Occasionally, a blatantly political report offers a glimpse of the gap between Xinhua's foreign service and the kind of information Chinese people have to rely on:

BEIJING, October 28 -- The "People's Daily" today carried a signed article to repudiate a talk conducted recently by Afghan Prime Minister Sultan Ali Keshtmand. The article reads:

Keshtmand said: "I must say that everything here is being managed by the Afghans." It is known to all that Afghanistan's "security" is defended by 100,000 Soviet troops, "social order" maintained by Soviet gendarmes and administration controlled by Soviet advisors. Even the president's office's security is managed by a Soviet special task force. So, it is more conformable to Kabul's reality if we say: "everything in Afghanistan is being managed by the Soviets."

He also remarked: "We do need a reliable friend like the Soviet Union to support our independence when threatening from outside." This prime minister deliberately evaded a stark fact: wherein does the "outside threat" come? Wherein do armored vehicles rumble on Afghan soil? Actually, "reliable friend" and "outside threat" are within the same concept so far as the present-day Afghanistan is concerned....

NAN, News Agency of Nigeria. NAN and Shihata, the Tanzanian agency, differ from the

other services in that the files we examined are prepared essentially for internal distribution, not overseas consumption. And, unlike the other services, English is the national language of the two countries (actually, one of two languages in Tanzania; Shihata stories are occasionally written in Swahili) so the international dispatches are not translations of a domestic service. On October 28, NAN's main news service included a total of 39 stories. Of these, 26 were domestic news, four domestic economics and nine foreign.

The domestic news file included a range of stories that would not be out of place in most Western newsrooms: Legislator accuses ministries of over-staffing; police arrest two robbers; Ondo commissioner for economic development resigns; Iyi-Enu Hospital celebrates 75th anniversary; Legislator calls on President Shagari to announce prices of agricultural products; Prof. Achebe becomes honorary member of American art institute.

Open criticism of the president is not allowed, and "bad news" is generally treated with deference. However, compared to many other national services, NAN copy is interesting and professional. The writing is good but occasionally suffers from a monotony of style and verbiage that could be improved by the judicious use of an editor's pencil. Examples:

> PORT HARCOURT, Oct. 28 (NAN) -- The governor of Rivers (State), Chief Melford Okilo, on Monday in Part Harcourt stressed the need for the union and management to develop a sense of partnership for the progress of the nation's economy.
>
> LAGOS, Oct. 28 (NAN) -- The House of Representatives yesterday adopted the recommendations of its committee on public petitions for the improvement of the activities of public complaints commissions in the country.

NAN's weak area seems to be its foreign coverage, although the paucity of

international stories may well be the result of a lack of demand rather than lack of resources. The scattering of foreign news in NAN's October 28 file looks something like we could expect in a small American daily: the two or three major world events, a few stories with some national or local linkage and a bit of the bizarre. Samples of the foreign datelines:

New York (from NAN's own correspondent): The president of the International Federation of Football Associations has received no official notice that Colombia will not host the 1986 World Cup.

New York (from AP): A man who pleaded guilty to six counts of murder told a judge he shot a friend "in the Christmas spirit" and killed others "to amuse myself."

Bamako (from AFP): The leader of the Polisario Front said the president of Mali had assured him of support.

Harare (from AFP): The Zimbabwean information minister accused South Africa of "information aggression."

Geneva (from AP): The U.N. Conference on Trade and Development effectively barred Israel from participating in U.N.-sponsored aid programs.

NAN's meager foreign coverage gets a modest boost from its daily Economic News Service. On the day of our examination, the economic service carried six foreign dateline stories plus 13 price quotes and commodity market summaries for palm oil, coffee, cocoa, rubber, tin and sugar. The foreign stories consisted of reports about Reagan's revocation of "most-favored nation" status for Poland, improvement in Ivory Coast cocoa quality, Bolivia's decision not to nationalize mining, a proposed institute to improve international lending analysis, a Japanese dumping suit against South Korean cotton industry and an AFP story about Israeli oil exploration based on the Bible.

In Tanzania, the media are not as independent for a combination of financial and political reasons. And Shihata, unlike NAN, is very much a part of the government's mobilization for national development.

On the day in question, Shihata distributed only ten stories, all of them with domestic datelines. The dispatches reflect the nation's concern with ideology, socialist development and an almost Puritan attention to the kind of selfless honesty that socialism is supposed to foster. In style as well as content, Shihata is very different from NAN:

> KIBAHA, Oct. 28. -- Representatives of five friendly political parties which are attending the on-going second ordinary national conference of Chama Cha Mapinduzi CCM, today inspected development projects in the coast region where they commended Tanzania's policy of socialism and self-reliance as the only alternative to the country's development.
>
> DAR ES SALAAM, Oct. 28 -- The minister for home affairs, Brigadier Muhidin Kimario, today issued a stern warning against people who worked to sabotage the nation's economy and state security.
>
> He said the government would not hesitate taking strong measures on whoever was found deliberately thwarting implementation of the country's policy of ujamaa and self-reliance.
>
> SUMBAWANGA, Oct. 28 -- Three of eleven units at the Small Industry Development Organization (SIDO) estate here have opened their doors for business on cooperative basis.
>
> The three units, started with aid from Hungary, are wood working factory run by Lyavideco, a development corporation owned by several villages in Sumbawnga district and an auto garage and general engineering works.
>
> DAR ES SALAAM, Oct. 28 -- President Julius Nyerere today sent a

congratulatory message to his counterpart General Kenan Avren of Turkey for marking the 59th anniversary of independence.

None of the national agencies we have included — a narrow sample to be sure — makes very much use of the full global flow of news. Most, as we have seen, prefer the Western agencies for the modest foreign coverage they carry. Occasional stories from one of the national agencies or alternative services get picked up and passed through a national agency gatekeeper, but the two major alternatives — the pool and Inter Press Service — must be satisfied with a modest definition of success.

The Alternative Services

The two alternative services share some things in common. Both stress the kind of news that is usually ignored by the major Western agencies; both are committed to a redefinition of news as something other than coups and earthquakes. But beyond that, they are quite different.

The pool, of course, as a cooperative of national agencies, stresses the kind of protocol news that gets heavy emphasis on most Third World media but does not travel well. The pool operates on the principle that cooperation can work at least most of the time in foreign relations and that journalism should be a part of the process. IPS, in contrast, holds to the more cynical Western view that journalism operates best when it is independent of political power, promoting development on a parallel path. From such different approaches to development news, we would expect different pictures of the world on October 28.

Compared to the smaller national agencies, both the pool and IPS turn out a lot of copy. The pool dispatch for the day of our inspection consisted of 60 separate stories from 26 separate news agencies. If the criterion of the pool's success is the ability to edit and distribute a wide-ranging file representing geographic diversity, it can be

considered a success. However, if the more rigorous criteria of comprehensive reporting and utilization are invoked, the pool fares less well. Most of the pool's reports are one or two paragraphs: few run more than 100 words. And curiously enough, many are skeletal summaries that delicately balance diplomatic codewords without any indication of what they mean or why they are being issued.

The exception to this is anti-Israel (and often anti-U.S.) rhetoric that fills an inordinate amount of the pool's dispatches. Twenty-five of the 60 stories were datelined in the Arab Middle East, and five other stories dealt with the Middle East. The developed nations were appropriately ignored. Three stories came from Western Europe, of which only one concerned Europe, one from the Soviet Union and two from the United States, neither of which dealt with United States itself.

A comparison of the pool and individual national agencies shows little overlap. WAFA, the PLO agency, reported a message of congratulations that was sent to Tanzania on the second anniversary of the Tanzanian Revolutionary Party. Prensa Latina (Cuba) contributed a lengthy story on the Tanzanian party's second congress, including an address by President Neyerere. Neither event was noted by Shihata, except indirectly in a semi-feature story about the visit of foreign delegates to development projects.

WAFA, one of the biggest contributors to the pool, also reported on Qadaffi's visit to China. "During the tour," the brief dispatch said, "the leader has been briefed on the Chinese struggle against imperialism and for independence." WAFA is also one of the most vitriolic attackers of Israel and the United States, although Israel was enduring an unusually harsh press attack in all parts of the world in the wake of her invasion of Lebanon and the massacres in the Palestinean refugee camps. Still, stories like this seem to run counter to the pool's dedication to the use of mass media to promote international harmony:

TRIPOLI, Oct. 27 (JANA) -- A celebration was held here on Sunday to mark

the 37th anniversary of the enactment of the U.N. charter.

The under-secretary of the Foreign Liaison Bureau, Mr. Abdulati Ubeidi, delivered a speech in which he referred to U.N. efforts to consolidate the foundations of world peace. He stressed the necessity of abolishing the veto right and said: "This distinction has been abused at the U.N., and the U.S. has turned the organization's most important body into an important (impotent?) instrument incapable of protecting international peace and security, which have been seriously jeopardised by Zionist wars of aggression and genocide against the Palestinian people and the entire Arab nation."

LUANDA, Oct. 27 (PL) -- The chairman of the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO), Sam Nujoma, said that there was a plot between the United States and South Africa aimed at keeping Namibia under their colonial domination.

LONDON, Oct. 27 (JANA) -- Seychelles President Albert Rene has strongly denounced the U.S. colonialist schemes and pointed out that the latest conspiracy against his country will not be the last. He said that the mercenaries' attempt to overthrow his regime is part of an imperialist scheme being engineered by the racist regime of South Africa against Seychelles.

AMMAN, Oct. 28 (PETRA) -- The Lebanese national resistance front announced that its fighters carried out a series of operations during the past few days against Israeli positions in Lebanon.

BELGRADE, Oct. 27 (Tanjug) -- The Arab countries' joint platform from the Fez summit is of importance not only for the activity of the Arab and nonaligned countries but also for the activity of the whole international community in search of a just solution to the Palestine question, Petar Stambolich, President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, and Yasser Arafat, the

PLO chief, emphasized this evening (Wednesday). Arafat arrived here today for a visit to Yugoslavia.

IPS, Inter Press Service. As an alternative service oriented mostly toward development-related features, IPS claims to emphasize the Third World. Our one-day snapshot supports that assertion. The IPS world on October 28 focused heavily on Latin America, the Middle East and the United Nations. Of a total of 46 stories transmitted in its English-language service, 23 were staff written, nine were news briefs and 14 were retransmissions of stories from national agencies.

Among the staff-written stories, most of them lengthy features, 11 were from Latin America, and five were from the United Nations. Eight of the nine news briefs were from Latin America; the ninth was from the United Nations. The pattern was broken only in the national agency transmission, in which seven of the 14 stories were from the Middle East (and another three were geographically outside the Middle East but concerned with it). The Latin American coverage included these stories:

BOGOTA, Oct. 28 (IPS) — "Mother's milk is a public relations man's dream," said author Mike Muller in 1974. Now his words have inspired an ecological group at the University of Tolima to wage a campaign against the "immoral commercialisation of powdered milk."

SAN SALVADOR, Oct. 28 (IPS) — The Salvadoran government has rejected the leftist opposition's unconditioned proposal for direct negotiations delivered to authorities Monday.

BOGOTA, Oct. 28 (IPS) — International trafficking in Columbian children has been going on for years, and has given the country the dubious honour of being the world's number two child "exporter," after Bangladesh.

SANTIAGO, Oct. 28 (IPS) — Human rights violations in Chile increased in

the first half of this year, according to a Chilean human rights commission study reported here Thursday.

SAN JOSE, Oct. 28 (IPS) -- Former Costa Rican President Jose Figueres, just returned from a trip to Cuba, has proposed closer ties between his country and Nicaragua.

MANAGUA, Oct. 28 (IPS) -- The Central American peace issue is making headlines in the region, but the road to regional tranquility still looks very long.

KINGSTON, Oct. 28 (IPS) -- Labour ministry officials continued negotiations Thursday to end a one week old strike that has brought operations at Jamaica's main port to a virtual standstill.

The IPS file included two stories on the Spanish election. One was a prediction by the Socialist Workers' Party that it would win 202 seats in the 350-seat Congress based, incredibly, according to the story, "on a count of the first 50 votes cast in 1,700 precincts." The story itself provided more substantial evidence of the party's claim. The other story was a short item about an apparent effort by a right-wing group to stuff the ballot box.

United Nations stories included these: Committee Against Apartheid to discuss South African loan with IMF; Chad international assistance conference set for November; Seminar on role of transnationals in South Africa and Namibia; and UNCTAD board approves framework of support for Third World economic cooperation. The last story was also reported by NAN, whose AP version emphasized that the final agreement effectively excluded Israel from participation in U.N. development programs. The IPS version, after a confused lead, noted that "the practical effect of this is that the G-77 would be able to determine whether or not China, Turkey and Israel, three non-G-77 UNCTAD members who call themselves 'developing' and wish to participate in ECDC programmes, should be

allowed to do so." (Translations: G-77 or Group of 77 is the caucus of developing nations, actually now numbering more than 100; ECDC is Economic Cooperation with Developing Countries; UNCTAD is the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.)

The one story on the United States was a wrap-up of the upcoming off-year national elections written by the IPS Washington correspondent.

The three African stories reported on the expected summit of the OAU, an advance story about a course on improving urban housing in Africa organized by the United Nations Center for Human Settlements in Nairobi and Muslim riots in Nigeria that resulted in the deaths of 15 policemen and a number of civilians.

Most of the national news agency stories had circulated in the pool dispatches — Qadaffi in Beijing, Arafat in Belgrade, among others — and because of the heavy concentration of Arab Middle East agencies in the pool, they had a predictable anti-Israeli and anti-American slant.

On the other hand, several of the other national agency stories were reasonable and could have some potential for placement in regional or specialized media. They included dispatches on a program for early childhood teachers in Grenada, the first Arab conference on book publishing in Tunisia, establishment of a Gulf Institute for Industrial Security Studies and a post-election analysis in Sri Lanka.

The diversity of this small sample of alternative news voices is astonishing. Some are shrill and blatantly represent a single point of view, but others are sober and as aloof as the Western agencies they criticize. If nothing else, even a limited examination of the alternatives demonstrates how little agreement there is even among the the alternatives of what alternative news is.

Not a single event was included in all the agency files in our examination, although, of course, some might have carried a story on a different day. If anything, three stories seemed to represent the only common definition of news. They were the

Spanish election, the rescheduling of the OAU summit and the Arab demonstrations on the West Bank. Together they epitomize what news is on most days in most parts of the world: politics and disruption.

A Quantitative Look at Alternative News

So far, our examination of the alternative news systems has been through a closeup lens. Now we switch to a wide-angle to see whether the patterns we detected in coverage of one ordinary day and one important Third World event apply in general to this sample of second-tier Western agencies, national agencies and alternative world services.

For this part of the analysis, we turned to a two-week sample of the same organizations described above and a quantitative analysis of several key elements of their content. The sample covered the period of October 18 through 29, 1982, which was picked for convenience and because no block-buster event was anticipated that would dominate the news. In fact, none occurred.

The protocol for quantifying each news story published by these organizations during that period was modeled after that used in the IAMCR study (and, in fact, most other recent foreign news studies as well) modified to deal directly with some of the issues in the New World Information Order debate (Sreberny-Mohammadi 1984; Stevenson and Shaw 1984; Weaver and Wilhoit 1981).

Some of the categories are almost standard in such studies — main topic of the story and dateline location, for example. Others were added to examine the question of how much of the news is "disruptive" and how much based on alternative definitions of development and protocol news as well as the questions of timeliness and original source of the information.

The variables that will be examined in this analysis are as follows:

Geographic location. For that information, we relied on the dateline, even though

in specific circumstances this can be misleading. The story of Qadaffi's visit to China was categorized as China even though it involved an element of Libya as well. Analysis of the large, multi-country IAMCR project had demonstrated that the overall results come out about the same whether one tags only location or tries to incorporate all geographic areas to which reference is made.

We also opted for a simple geographic regional breakdown of the world. North America included only Canada and the United States; Latin America comprised everything from Mexico south and the Caribbean. Africa was defined to include the Arab countries of North Africa; the Middle East included the eastern Mediterranean from Cyprus and Lebanon through Iran. Eastern Europe in our regional map included Yugoslavia; Greece and Turkey were made part of Western Europe. A final category was used for global stories that had no dateline or geographic location and for stories originating in international bodies like the United Nations.

Main topic. This set of categories was taken directly from the IAMCR study. It consists of 32 descriptive, non-theoretical categories that are generally all-inclusive but not always mutually exclusive; that is, a specific story sometimes can be assigned to one of two or three specific categories such as military/defense or international politics. In general, however, when only a more general set of 18 categories subsuming the more specific categories is used, the reliability of classification increases substantially.

Main actor. The term "actor," which was used in the IAMCR study, is awkward but essentially accurate. It refers to the political or social position of the individual or individuals who are making the news. In cases where a single individual occupies more than one of the 32 descriptive categories — Ronald Reagan, for example, is head of state, chief executive, head of the ruling party and a national politician — coders tried to identify the one position that the newsmaker was occupying in the specific

story.

Source of news. In this variable, we tried to identify the origin of the information in the news. The main source of the information in each story was categorized as coming from (1) another medium, (2) an interview of news conference, which, of course, could be the initiative of either the newsmaker or reporter, (3) the event itself or (4) statements originated by the source. A final category provided for stories that could not be classified elsewhere.

Time frame. One of the criticisms of Western-style journalism is that it focuses too much on recency as a news value. The competitive rush to be first, it is argued — and usually acknowledged by Western journalists — results too often in inaccuracy, superficiality and the kind of disjointed reporting that critics claim needs to be changed.

To test how differently the alternative agencies, which in many cases lack the global network to compete with the Western services in speed, deal with the time element, we categorized each story as occurring (1) "today" or "yesterday" as indicated by a specific reference in the story, (2) "recently" in the sense that reference was made to a specific event occurring at some unspecified time in the near past or (3) without any specific time frame.

Type of news. This variable probably dealt most directly with the justification for the development of new definitions of news and new news structures. Each story was classified as one of seven types of news ranging from "protocol news" to "disruptive event."

Protocol news was defined as the ceremonial comings and goings of public officials, occasionally enlivened with policy statements. Development news included that which demonstrated evidence of economic, political or social development of a country or encouraged that kind of development as in, "President called on the people to work

harder..."

The "disruptive event" category was used for any story which emphasized social, political or economic upheaval as well as any accident or natural disaster. It came close to encompassing the definition of news as exceptional events, although only unpredictable negative events were included.

The category of routine or recurring events was used for reports of stock quotes or currency exchange prices as well as an occasional story based on the routine issuing of government reports or statistics. Finally, two categories were used for stories that were not tied to specific events. One type, often a sidebar or "Letter from..." in Western media, was used for background material related to but separate from event coverage. The other category, into which background stories not related to specific events were coded, was appropriate for Western-style "enterprise" stories not pegged to regular news events and some feature stories.

Results

In the six tables that follow, we present the results of the quantitative analysis of the various alternative services for the last two weeks in October, 1982. On the whole, they are remarkable for the similarities among very different news services and the similarities between these alternative services and the major Western agencies to which they are variously a supplement, a competitor and an alternative. At the level which can be measured quantitatively, news, as studies over the past decade have demonstrated again and again, is pretty much the same.

Geographic origin. The regional or national focus of the national agencies is largely predictable because even those agencies are either essentially domestic services (NAN and Shihata) or foreign versions of a domestic service (Tanjug, Xinhua) whose purpose is mostly to project the national view rather than to fill in the gaps left by

the Western agencies.

The narrow focus of Kyodo is surprising because it is intended to be a general news service while its sister agency, Jiji, is designed as the specialty agency. In fact, Kyodo is narrow in geographic spread and even narrower in topic coverage. DPA's emphasis on Western Europe (nearly 40% of all datelines) could be compared to the half glass of water: maybe it is too much, but on the other hand, compared to most of the other agencies, DPA, like its fellow Western agencies, is relatively catholic. A case can be made that only 40% of DPA coverage is from Western Europe as well as that all of 40% comes from the immediate geographic region.

A point that stands out clearly — and is replicated in the other recent studies — is that North America gets relatively little attention in the global news system. Among these representative alternative services, North American-datelined stories account for ten percent or more of the total copy only in the NAN Economic News Service where virtually all of the North American reporting consists of exchange quotations.

The emphases of the two global alternative services are a good indicator of their interests as well. More than 40% of the IPS English service comes from Latin America even when its carriage of national news agency material, which is mostly from outside of Latin America, is included. And the heavy involvement of Middle East and North African agencies in the pool is reflected by the more than 55% of pool stories that originate in those two regions. Except for Tanjug dispatches, Eastern Europe continues to be the invisible part of the world in the global news system. As the table here documents, geographic regionalism and nationalism are the overwhelming criteria of newsworthiness among the alternative news agencies as well as the media of all countries.

Main topic. The same kind of uniform, narrow definition of newsworthiness is apparent when we look at the news topics of this varied sample of alternative services. The four categories of international and domestic politics, military/defense and

economics take up about three-quarters of the files of all agencies in the sample except one. The exception is Shihata where the four account for more than 60%.

An emphasis on — perhaps obsession with — politics and economics is characteristic of the Western media as well, and we might expect it from services modeled on them, like DPA, Kyodo and NAN. But what about Tanjug, IPS and the pool? Where is the attention to the broader spectrum of human accomplishments and activities that are supposed to make up the alternative definition of news?

We find very little attention paid to natural disasters, as the new definition of newsworthiness would dictate — only 2% even in DPA, which gave the topic the most coverage. But, of course, the Western agencies and media devote very little of their much richer news-gathering resources to the topic as well. No difference among the alternative services here, either.

Main actor. The second aspect of news in all parts world besides the dominance of politics and economics is the dominance of public officials, mostly members of the executive branch, as newsmakers. The president, the prime minister and occasionally other public officials are the people who fill our newspapers and TV newscasts.

As Table 3 shows, there is no difference among the alternative news sources. The executive, represented by the three categories of head of state, chief of executive and other executive, accounted for one-quarter (Shihata) to nearly half (NANA pool) of the main actors in all stories. If one adds in the other categories of government officials, the proportion of all stories featuring government figures rises to something like three-quarters.

Of course, government leaders are more newsworthy than ordinary citizens, but many of the New World Information Order advocates claim that alternative news means more democratic access to the media. There is no evidence to support that claim. First of all, there is little clear difference between the Western-oriented services like DPA,

Kyodo and HAN and the clearly alternative services like IPS, the pool, Tanjug and Xinhua. And beyond that, none of the services gives much attention to political opposition figures, whether legal or illegal. The two categories account for more than 3% of main actors only in DPA. In the pool, they make up less than 2% of the main actors, and barely 2% in IPS stories.

News sources. So far, we have seen little difference between quantifiable characteristics of the traditional and dominant Western media and news services and those that claim, in various ways, to represent alternative ways of reporting the world's news. It is possible, however, that some of the differences between the dominant and alternative news sources might be reflected in other ways. For that reason, we tried to isolate and code factors like sources of news, timeliness of news and type of news. Not much evidence of difference here, either.

Quoting from other media is a time-honored tradition in Western reporting — although not always acknowledged — and it appears to be an important part of covering news in the alternative sources as well. The figures vary widely, but one-tenth and slightly more of the stories in IPS, DPA and Tanjug were credited to other media; in HAN's two files, the figures were about one-quarter. Xinhua and the pool repeats were in the same range. Only Kyodo and Shihata credited less than 10% of their stories to other media. Events themselves still seem to trigger news coverage, just as they do in the West. Between roughly 10% (Kyodo) and 40% (Xinhua) of all dispatches were based on events rather than based on the initiative of either the reporter or newsmaker.

Interviews or news conferences, sometimes instituted by the reporter, sometimes by the source, accounted for about 10% of all stories, with a wide variety among news sources. In Tanjug dispatches, they accounted for less than 4% of the stories, in Shihata for more than 25%. The power of newsmakers over reporters is shown in the figures for stories based on statements, reports or figures made public by the source.

The proportions range from 18% in Xinhua to 75% in Kyodo with a mean of about 45-50%. These numbers suggest that in the alternative services, as in Western-style journalism, reporters are less originators of news than chroniclers of events and sometimes pseudo-events controlled by others.

Time frame. Timeliness, too, plays a big part in the sample of alternative sources, probably as large a part as it does in Western media and news services. The proportions of stories based on events "today" or "yesterday" ranged from half to three-quarters in all services except the pool where it was slightly under 40%. This may be a function of the delays in transmitting information to the pool headquarters, translating and editing it and getting back into the collective dispatch more than an emphasis on non-deadline reporting. Certainly most of the stories we examined qualitatively had the same kind of focus on today and yesterday that one finds in so much of Western-style news. And among the stories not pegged to today or yesterday, almost all were geared to some vague recent time frame.

Types of news. Finally, we look at the various services to see how much of the news describes events, especially disruptive events, that critics of Western news decry, how much represents what we could call "new news" of protocol and development and how much is devoted to filling in the gaps between events and protocol.

Here, more than in any other category, we do see differences among the various alternative services in our sample. Agencies that are identified with the New World Information Order such as Tanjug and the IPS Spanish service do stress protocol news, although the pool itself and the English version of IPS probably devote no more attention to the ceremonial comings and goings of public officials than do Western media. DPA devoted 15% of its stories to the category, more than NAN, the pool and the English IPS.

The amount of development news also varies considerably among the different services. The IPS Spanish-language file devotes nearly half of its stories to

development news, while among the English-language dispatches, the proportion is about one story in eight. Development news also gets relatively little attention — about 10% of all stories — from Tanjug and the NANA pool and not much more from Xinhua. In the Western agencies of DPA, NAN and Kyodo, the proportion is much less.

Disruptive events get more attention in the pool and English-language IPS than we might expect — 15% and 13%. Even more surprising are the two African national agencies, Shihata and NAN, which allocate 17% and 16% to this category of "bad news." The figure is about the same as that of DPA and about the same as one finds in the Big Four Western agencies.

As these numbers show, there are important differences among the different alternative news sources, but some aspects of news seem to be universal. News in all of the agencies is heavily tied to events, not processes of history or slow social change. News in these secondary layers of the global news system is not heavily oriented toward disruptive events any more than it is in the main arteries of the major Western agencies. But on the other hand, the new definitions of news as development and protocol have not caught on either.

News is not so much coups and earthquakes as it is politics and economics. At the qualitative level, we saw evidence of good reporting and writing as well as awkward writing and a bizarre sense of what is newsworthy and palatable to other editors. In the quantitative analysis, some of these differences seem to disappear while others emerge. IPS does come across as a service with an emphasis on background and, especially in its Spanish files, development.

NAN and Shihata, quite different in their organization and operation, are both heavily event oriented and both more devoted to non-disruptive events than to the bad news of coups and earthquakes. The pool is a curious mixture, giving less attention to protocol news than the qualitative examination suggests, more to disruptive events. Of

all of the services, it gave most attention to unscheduled but non-disruptive events.

A surprising amount of space, especially in those services with the larger total volume, is given to background reporting, either connected with a specific event or a general background story. The total allocated to background reporting averages about half in the Western-oriented services and Tanjug but much less in the smaller national services. A reason for the difference is probably the same as the reason why smaller American papers give so little attention to foreign news: space. The more local a medium becomes, the more dominant a parochial focus becomes. If we cannot fault NAN or Shihata or Xinhua for giving most of their attention to national news to the exclusion of most of the rest of the world, we also cannot fault small community newspapers in the West for doing the same thing.

How much is enough? That is a hard question to answer, but to return to a theme that has been emphasized often in these pages, the problems of Western journalism — parochialism, narrow definition of news, obsession with today's events — are problems that afflict all news organizations in all political systems. Here, as in other studies, the evidence shows that the alternatives often either are guilty of the same faults or do worse. In most of the services represented here, too much attention is given to protocol news, not enough to development and, to the surprise of those who criticize the Western obsession with coups and earthquakes, more attention is given to background reporting — almost half of all stories by our estimate — than to any other single type of news. Disruptive events make the news of all services, but not very often.

Table 1: Geographic Origin of Foreign News.

		AGENCY:								
DATELINE:	N=	IPS 230	DPA 552	KYODO 339	NAN 589	NANECO 249	TANJUG 566	SHIHATA 139	XINHUA 679	POOL 865	IPS(S) 1526
n. america		7.4%	3.4%	5.9%	3.6%	11.2%	2.5%	-	1.9%	2.4%	1.2
latin america		42.6	2.0	0.3	3.4	7.2	3.9	-	3.8	13.0	61.2
africa		10.9	11.2	-	78.3	28.1	5.9	96.4	11.0	22.5	3.5
asia		10.0	18.7	90.3	2.2	20.1	8.5	-	63.8	15.7	3.1
middle east		10.0	19.8	-	3.2	2.0	3.2	-	6.3	25.6	4.8
e. europe		0.9	2.7	0.9	0.5	-	62.2	-	2.4	5.7	3.8
w. europe		8.7	38.8	2.4	7.6	23.7	12.7	3.6	7.2	4.7	18.9
no dateline		9.6	3.4	0.3	1.2	7.6	1.6	-	3.5	10.3	-

Table 2: Main Topics in the News.

		AGENCY:								
TOPIC:	N=	IPS 230	DPA 552	KYODO 339	NAN 589	NANECO 249	TANJUG 566	SHIHATA 139	XINHUA 679	POOL 865	IPS(S) 1526
intl. politics		15.8%	24.3%	10.6%	12.2%	1.6%	24.6%	24.6%	35.2%	37.4%	14.8
domestic "		15.8	13.8	7.1	26.7	1.6	13.2	12.3	8.2	10.2	19.3
military/defense		12.3	15.6	7.4	4.1	0.4	10.1	1.4	9.9	17.4	8.1
economic		28.5	18.9	50.4	14.6	92.0	30.6	24.6	19.9	18.9	27.9
international aid		5.3	2.9	3.5	0.8	1.6	0.7	2.9	0.9	3.3	4.7
social services		4.8	0.7	-	3.6	0.8	0.2	5.8	3.4	1.4	2.0
crime/judicial		7.5	8.3	2.4	14.9	0.8	2.1	15.2	0.9	1.8	4.5
culture/arts		2.6	1.8	1.8	0.7	-	2.1	-	5.1	0.7	5.4
religion		0.4	0.5	0.6	0.5	-	0.3	-	0.3	0.3	0.6
science/technology		0.4	0.5	4.7	2.0	-	4.2	0.7	5.3	2.4	2.6
sports		0.9	2.0	-	5.4	-	1.9	1.4	4.9	0.3	0.8
entertainment		-	0.2	-	0.2	-	0.2	-	0.1	0.3	0.1
personalities		0.4	1.8	0.9	1.4	-	-	-	0.4	0.1	0.2
human interest		0.4	-	1.5	0.8	-	-	-	0.6	-	0.3
education		1.3	0.4	3.5	5.8	-	-	5.1	0.4	1.0	1.4
ecology		-	0.4	0.9	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.7	0.8	0.7	1.1
natural disasters		0.4	2.2	0.3	1.4	-	0.1	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.5
other		3.1	5.6	4.4	4.6	0.8	9.2	4.3	3.1	3.3	5.5

Table 3: Main Actor in the News.

		AGENCY:								
ACTOR:	IPS	DPA	KYODO	NAN	NANECO	TANJUG	SHIHATA	XINHUA	POOL	IPS(S)
N=	230	552	339	589	249	566	139	679	865	1526
none	3.5%	10.9%	13.6%	1.5%	44.6%	3.4%	2.1%	0.7%	4.9%	0.6
head of state	-	0.4	0.3	1.0	-	0.5	0.7	3.9	4.5	0.7
chief executive	8.7	20.3	5.3	9.3	3.6	16.6	11.5	16.8	17.7	11.9
other exec./govt.	27.8	16.3	29.5	11.5	17.3	22.6	12.2	15.7	18.5	30.6
legislature	0.9	1.4	-	7.3	1.6	0.9	1.4	1.5	2.1	2.4
ruling party	1.3	0.7	3.2	2.4	-	3.4	7.2	1.5	0.7	2.1
legal opposition	1.7	2.0	-	1.4	0.4	0.2	-	0.4	0.4	2.1
illegal "	0.4	1.3	0.3	0.3	-	0.5	-	-	0.8	0.6
national politician	1.7	2.5	0.6	6.4	0.8	1.4	5.0	13.2	6.8	2.9
local politician	1.3	0.4	0.3	17.1	3.2	0.7	10.1	2.8	0.8	0.5
diplomat	3.5	2.2	1.5	1.7	1.2	2.1	5.0	3.6	6.4	3.4
military	5.6	5.1	3.2	2.0	0.4	2.8	0.7	3.0	4.0	3.5
guerrillas etc.	2.2	2.4	-	0.2	-	1.1	-	0.6	1.4	2.0
industry	2.6	2.7	15.0	1.2	15.7	13.8	1.4	3.1	1.8	5.4
trade unions etc.	1.7	0.5	0.6	1.5	0.8	1.8	0.7	1.3	0.7	3.1
pressure groups	3.0	0.4	0.8	-	-	-	0.7	0.1	0.3	3.1
religious	0.4	2.2	0.3	1.7	-	0.5	1.4	0.4	0.3	0.9
sport	-	2.9	0.6	4.9	-	5.1	0.7	4.6	0.3	0.5
nwps. radio/tv	1.7	-	-	0.7	-	1.4	0.7	0.4	1.7	2.4
other medium	0.9	-	-	0.7	-	1.4	0.7	3.6	1.3	1.5
academic/education	5.7	1.6	6.8	6.6	1.2	3.9	-	5.8	3.0	6.3
police	1.3	1.1	0.3	3.2	0.4	-	-	0.6	1.3	1.0
judiciary/lawyer	-	1.8	0.9	5.4	-	0.5	0.7	-	0.3	0.8
criminals	2.6	1.1	0.6	3.1	-	0.5	11.5	-	0.1	0.8
celebrities	-	0.7	-	0.7	-	0.3	-	1.0	0.6	3.1
royalty	-	-	1.8	-	-	0.2	-	-	-	0.2
nations/people	2.2	3.6	4.1	0.3	0.8	2.8	-	0.7	0.4	1.3
united nations	10.0	2.2	1.2	1.9	0.8	1.8	2.2	2.1	5.9	3.1
intgovtl. bodies	3.5	1.3	3.0	0.3	2.8	2.3	2.9	1.6	4.8	1.8
international "	1.7	1.1	1.5	0.5	0.8	1.1	2.2	0.6	2.8	0.5
ordinary people	1.7	6.3	2.6	1.5	0.4	3.0	2.2	3.3	1.7	1.1
other	2.2	0.9	1.2	3.6	2.8	1.1	8.6	6.4	3.5	1.8

Table 4: Main Source of News.

	AGENCY:									
SOURCE:	IPS N= 230	DPA 552	KYODO 339	NAN 589	NANECO 249	TANJUG 566	SHIHATA 139	XINHUA 679	POOL 865	IPS(S) 1526
unidentifiable	9.6%	10.0%	8.5%	1.9%	16.5%	6.7%	2.9%	10.7%	10.5	6.6
other medium	11.3	12.9	3.5	24.3	23.3	12.7	6.5	16.9	15.1	7.0
interview/conf.	8.3	5.8	4.4	14.4	6.0	3.5	25.9	12.7	15.1	9.9
event itself	17.8	25.0	8.3	24.8	14.5	24.4	34.5	41.5	28.8	40.0
statements	53.0	46.4	75.2	34.6	39.8	52.6	30.2	18.1	30.1	36.5

Table 5: Time Frame of News.

	AGENCY:									
TIME:	IPS N= 230	DPA 552	KYODO 339	NAN 589	NANECO 249	TANJUG 566	SHIHATA 139	XINHUA 679	POOL 865	IPS(S) 1526
today/yesterday	56.5%	70.8%	61.7%	78.8%	81.5%	52.8%	74.8%	75.1%	31.1%	93.3
recent	38.3	25.9	35.1	20.5	18.1	45.4	25.2	22.8	67.6	6.6
no time frame	5.2	3.3	3.2	0.7	0.4	1.8	-	2.1	1.0	-

Table 6: Type of Story.

	AGENCY:									
TYPE:	IPS N= 230	DPA 552	KYODO 339	NAN 589	NANECO 249	TANJUG 566	SHIHATA 139	XINHUA 679	POOL 865	IPS(S) 1526
protocol	9.1%	14.5%	10.0%	5.3%	2.4%	22.8%	17.3%	26.5%	7.6	24.4
development	11.3	3.8	1.2	6.4	6.8	10.8	10.8	16.9	10.9	47.3
disruptive event	12.6	17.0	2.1	15.6	1.6	3.7	17.3	9.0	15.2	6.4
nondisruptive unscheduled event	3.5	4.5	5.3	42.6	6.8	7.9	36.0	29.3	52.4	5.2
routine/recurring event	0.9	8.1	13.3	0.8	47.4	2.8	-	-	1.1	1.1
event background	43.0	39.9	38.3	22.9	22.5	38.7	15.8	12.1	9.8	11.9
nonevent "	19.6	12.1	29.8	6.3	12.4	13.2	2.9	6.2	3.0	3.7

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